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nevertheless be rigidly precise in the mathematical sense. Its interest lies, however, in the light which it throws on the social questions rather than in its contribution to pure science. And this is by no means a disparaging criticism of any economic treatise. The book shows familiarity with economic literature, but it is not so planned or written as to be of any value as an introduction either to the standard works with which every student must become familiar, or to the current periodical discussions in which the general reader is to be interested.

EDWARD T. DEVINE.

New York City.

The Government of Municipalities. By DORMAN B. EATON.. Pp. x, 498, 14, 8vo. New York: For Columbia University Press, by the Macmillan Co., 1899.

It is with unusual interest and keen anticipation that one takes up this work by Mr. Eaton. So long, so actively and so prominently has he been connected with city affairs, that whatever he says deserves careful thought.

Following the example of his many predecessors, Mr. Eaton deals only with the defects of our municipal systems and the remedies proposed, treating *causes* of inefficiency only so far as it is necessary to assist in working out a solution. The remedies offered are: abolition of the party system, nomination by petition *only*, "free voting" (elections by general ticket with cumulative voting), civil service reform, the council system as against centralization of power in the mayor, and state administrative control as against legislative interference in local affairs.

The chapters dealing with the relation of the party system to municipal administration are probably the most unsatisfactory. Mr. Eaton seems to confuse parties in the abstract with parties in the concrete. So impressed is he with the bad effects of intermingling state and national politics with local questions, that he condemns, apparently, the whole party system. For instance, he says (p. 11):

"Few things are more indisputable, among elementary facts of government than this, that the party system and a true municipal system are repugnant and irreconcilable."

This idea is radically erroneous. The party system is based upon the fundamental principle that results—good or bad—can be more easily attained by concerted action. As long as this principle remains true—probably forever—some sort of party system will exist. Thus, the important problem is whether there shall be municipal parties

which play no part in state and national politics, or whether state and national parties shall have municipal policies. To the solution of this problem Mr. Eaton has contributed very little if anything, and what he has said is apt to do more harm than good, by seeming to maintain that parties can and should be done away with entirely. In what sense "party" is used in the following is difficult of comprehension: "All the enlightened, well-governed cities of Europe are . . . without any sort of party government whatever."

Chapters IV, V and VI (some seventy pages) are devoted to Tammany Hall and its effects upon municipal administration. Although interesting, the logic of the discussion is doubtful. Tammany Hall is the lowest example of the party system at its worst—excepting, possibly, the Republican machine in Philadelphia. Thus, if the party system were to be condemned according to the principle: "by their fruits ye shall know them," a representative example should be selected for illustration. Further, Mr. Eaton makes the mistake of citing the history of Tammany Hall to condemn the party system when in reality Tammany Hall is more of a municipal party than any other in the United States; this goes to prove, if it proves anything, that municipal parties are not the principal salvation of city administration. In reality, the experience of Tammany Hall proves nothing as to the good or bad effects of the party system; it simply shows what may be accomplished when the uniting force is the "cohesive power of public plunder."

What Mr. Eaton says upon civil service reform, nominating systems, and "free voting," is more exact and more worthy of approval. In his treatment of the mayor and the council, he neither appreciates the difference between administration and legislation, nor realizes that the two functions ought no more to be united in the council than in the mayor—a plan which he strongly condemns. It is undoubtedly true that there should be some sort of a local legislative body which shall determine general lines of policy. But centralization of power in the council has produced in many cities as bad if not worse results than the "autocratic mayor." Experience seems to point to a differentiation of functions and to the transfer to the council of many powers now exercised by the state legislature.

In the portion of the work which discusses this problem especially, one feels that Mr. Eaton has confined himself too closely to New York history and experience. For example, Chicago has about the best charter of any large American city, and its experience throws much light upon several problems, but Chicago is mentioned, by actual count, only *five* times in the 500 pages, and two of these refer to the visit of a few hundred Chicago politicians to New York city in

1897—a mere incident. In fact, so much of the work is devoted exclusively to New York that its value as a general treatise is impaired. Upon the theory that each metropolitan city deserves a distinct kind of treatment determined largely by its own experience, this is perhaps pardonable; but principles for general application must be founded upon the experience of many cities and a careful personal investigation of European systems rather than secondary treatises. Thus, while the three chapters upon school, sanitary, police, and judicial administration contain many pertinent suggestions of general value, the two chapters on the Greater New York charter and *state-police* despotism in New York are somewhat out of place.

However, one should not conclude that Mr. Eaton's work is not of value. Many wisely will read it and find suggestions which, if adopted, would go very far towards increasing efficiency and towards creating higher standards of public morality.

New York City.

MILO R. MALTBY.

Liberty in the Nineteenth Century. By FREDERICK MAY HOLLAND, Pp. viii, 257. Price, \$1.75. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899.

The author apologizes for the brief and unsatisfactory account given of developments under the French republic founded in 1870, on the score of lack of space. All the portions of the book in relation to European affairs stand in as great need of apology, for they are dry and inadequate, and have evidently been put in to support the title, which is much too big for the book. To the requirements of the title may also be attributed the supplement to the second chapter, which classifies under the general head of "The Fruits of Peace," such events as the European revolutionary movements of 1848 and the sanguinary struggle in Paris resulting from the Socialist experiment of national workshops. The original part of the book, comprising five out of its seven chapters, treats of the developments of radicalism in politics and religion. The author nowhere attempts to define liberty, but he generally identifies it with the dissolution of restraint upon individual action. He however makes qualifications for which he does not furnish a logical basis. He censures Garrison's methods and thinks that if more sensible notions had prevailed emancipation might have been accomplished gradually and peacefully. The weaknesses of Emerson and the Transcendentalists are subjected to acute comment, but such agitations as those carried on by Bradlaugh in England and Ingersoll in this country are described with complacency. The author